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ABSTRACT

During the 1972-73 academic year, a research team working out of Teachers College, Columbia University, conducted case studies in districts where comprehensive and effective desegregation processes had been implemented. Greenburgh Central No. Seven, Greenburgh, New York, was selected as a site which had provided evidence of practices and policies associated with effective school desegregation. A research team visited Greenburgh over a four week period during March and April 1973. The purpose of the study was to document effective school desegregation practices and procedures under a variety of conditions. Variables examined include: student contact, assignment and grouping at all levels, regrouping within classrooms, staff interaction, student representation in school activities, student groupings in such settings as lunchrooms and lounge areas; parent representation in the schools, current concerns of staff, students and parents, and, the roles of the district staff and black and white community prior to and during district merger activities. Individual and group interviews were held with district administrators, teachers, parents, community members, and students. Observations took place in classrooms, lunchrooms, hallways and playgrounds. (Author/JM)

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THE DIMENSIONS OF INTEGRATION

IN

GREENBURGH CENTRAL NO. SEVEN

GREENBURGH, NEW YORK

Prepared by

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Teachers College, Columbia University
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November, 1973

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INTRODUCTION

During the 1972-73 academic year, a research team working out of Teachers College, Columbia University conducted case studies in districts where comprehensive and effective desegregation processes had been implemented. Greenburgh Central No. Seven, Greenburgh, New York, was selected as a site which had provided evidence of practices and policies associated with effective school desegregation.

A research team visited Greenburgh over a four week period during March and April, 1973. Staff members in Greenburgh gave complete cooperation to the research activities. The efforts of Superintendent Irving Miller and Assistant Superintendent Robert D. Frelow especially facilitated the research activities which were conducted in the district schools.

The purpose of the study was to document effective school desegregation practices and procedures under a variety of conditions. Variables examined include:

- -student contact in academic and nonacademic activities
- -assignment and grouping at all levels
- -regrouping within classrooms
- -staff interaction
- -school policies for ensuring adequate student representation in school activities
- -student groupings in such settings as lunchrooms, playgrounds, hallways, and lounge areas
- -parent representation in the schools
- -current concerns of staff, students, and parents

-the roles of the district staff and black and white community prior to and during district merger activities

Individual and group interviews were held with district administrators, teachers, parents, community members, and students. Observations took place in classrooms, lunchrooms, hallways, and playgrounds. Thus, participant observation and structured and unstructured interviewing characterized data gathering techniques. The data was analyzed to determine key variables and to examine their linkage to resultant school programs and experiences for students, staff, and parents.

THE SETTING

Located about twenty five miles north of New York City, Greenburgh Central Seven School District serves portions of the unincorporated area of the township of Greenburgh and the village of Hartsdale. Approximately 20,000 people, including 4,700 pupils (both private and public) reside in this eight square mile area. Ethnically and religiously diverse, the population varies in its educational and economic levels. Many civic associations exist in the developments of the unincorporated areas of Greenburgh. These associations do not generally become involved in school district issues as they often overlap other district areas. The political representation of this unincorporated area is the Board of Supervisors of Greenburgh Township. While Hartsdale is an incorporated village with a Post Office, it has no city government, and gets its services through the township. The school district thus offers individuals in this area an opportunity for some type of political involvement.

Fairly large concentrations of blacks have resided in Greenburgh since World War I when the original black population came in as laborers, settling in an area called Fairview which continues to be identified as a black residential area. After World War II, many middle class blacks bought homes in the area. Correspondingly, a Jewish and Italian population settled in the Greenburgh area, and the racial balance of old Greenburgh District 8 during the 1950's was approximately 65% white and 35% black. The village of Hartsdale, served by Greenburgh School District 7 since the merger of 1968, has historically been a white middle class suburban community.

Table I provides some indication of the current socio-economic and racial characteristics of the population served by the merged Greenburgh-Hartsdale school district. The community ranks high in income, years of education, and percentage of professionals when compared with New York State and county norms.

TABLE I

Census Statistics-1970

	Local	Westchester	New York State
Income			
Median	16,516	13,784	10,617
Mean	18,522	17,778	12,491
Race			
% Black	14.9	9.5	11.9 (urban)
% White	84.2	89.8	86.8
Education			
Median yrs. completed	13.2	12.5	12.1
% H.S. Graduates	76.6	64.5	52.7
Occupation (%)			
Professional	29.6	21.1	16.7
Managerial	15.2	12.6	8.5
Clerical, Sales	29.3	30.0	27.9
Craftsman	7.6	10.8	12.2
Service (inc. household)	11.3	6.7	13.0
% Males 16 in labor force	85.1	79.4	75.7

A tour through the area served by the school district reveals varied types of housing nestled in Westchester's rolling hills as well as along its major roadways. The majority of the black population resides in well kept homes in two black middle class neighborhoods and in a low to middle income housing project located in Fairview. White housing is characterized by middle class condominium and apartment residences, and homes which range from neat frames located in pleasant neighborhoods to elegant structures on shaded acreage which reflect the affluence of Westchester. While residential segregation is the norm for the area, a middle class neighborhood called Wendover Woods and the condominiums of Woodland Hills are integrated.

The population of Greenburgh District Number 7 is primarily centered in four census tracts. Table 2 delineates the demography of the community, showing the racial composition, and the income and education proportions in the four census tracts.

TABLE 2

CENSUS STATISTICS - GREENBURGH CENTRAL SEVEN 1970

					Average for Local District 7
Census Tracks	108.01	108.02	109.01	109.03	
Income					
Median	18,211	16,504	18,356	12,994	16,516
Mean	21,221	17,749	20,194	14,924	18,522
Race					
% Black	1.6	5.0	5.0	47.8	14.9
Education					
Median yrs. Comp.	13.0	13.5	14.2	12.2	13.2
%H.S. Graduates	81.4	82.8	85.1	57.1	76.6
% Males 16 in labor force	84.4	89.4	89.4	77.3	85.7

Table 2 illustrates the residential segregation characteristic of the area which the school district serves. In tracts 108.01 and 109.01 which have the highest mean incomes, the percentages of blacks are only 1.6 and 5.0 respectively. Tract 109.03 contains the majority of the community's non-white and low-income households. This tract encompasses Fairview which has historically been identified with the black population of Greenburgh. Recently constructed in Fairview were a multi-million dollar recreational center, a senior citizen's development, and a Day Care Center. While the recreation center was intended for use by the entire Greenburgh community, its location in the black community has resulted in a segregated facility which whites identify with blacks. The Day Care Center primarily serves the black population. Legal intents exist to insure that the population of the recently completed senior-citizen's development will be integrated.

Since the 1967-1968 Greenburgh-Hartsdale merger, the district has bused over 80% of its children to reduce the racial and social isolation brought about by housing patterns. However, a review of bus routes indicate that children ride to and from their respective communities on racially segregated buses.

Today, the Administration Building, a Nursery, and Woodlands High School of District 7 are located on a 150 acre estate left to the school district. Six other district schools are located on different sides of the community. A Princeton Plan is operating and students attend four schools during their K-12 education. The philosophy which governed the integration of District Seven's schools after the Greenburgh-Hartsdale merger evolved from practices which marked old Greenburgh District 8 as a model of school desegregation during the 1950's.

By 1950 the school population of Greenburgh District 8 began showing signs of steady growth. At this time, the district had two elementary schools and one junior high school. The older of the two elementary schools was predominantly

black and was also underutilized. Reorganization was an obvious necessity, but the stronger issue was the need to desegregate the district's schools to create parity in student development. Dr. Richard Bailey, chief administrator of the district and an effective proponent of school desegregation presented four plans to the Board of Education in March 1951, each designed to alleviate overcrowding and provide for desegregation. Plan One called for a new school to be built in a location which would draw from both black and white areas. Plan Two called for transferring some white pupils to the all black school. Plan Three would have eliminated attendance areas and permitted students to go to either elementary school on a voluntary basis. Plan Four was a Princeton Plan which reorganized the school district and called for sending all K-3 students to the elementary school located in the black community, all 4-6 students to the predominantly white school, and grades 7-10 to the junior high school. Not believing that the community would approve the complete integration proposed under Plan Four, they chose Plan Three by a vote of four to one. Strong reactions emerged from the community, both for and against integration. A petition demanding that the decision be rescinded and placed before the community's civic associations for a vote was submitted to the Board and accepted. Late in April, thirteen of the fourteen civic associations supported integration, and voted for Plan Four. Accepting the vote as a mandate from the community, the Board passed a resolution to end segregation in Greenburgh District 8, to take effect at the beginning of the Fall term for a one-year trial.

Resistance continued from groups within the community, and a particularly active group of white parents strongly advocated ability grouping, requesting that the Board of Education separate all students into three different schools according to performance. Such proposals were intensely countered by those committed to integrated education in the district, however, and a policy of

balancing district classrooms in terms of race and ability prevailed. The district sought help in fulfilling its commitment to integrated education, and consultants were brought in from metropolitan universities to aid teachers to meet the needs of a diverse school population.

By 1956 Greenburgh District 8 was outgrowing its facilities, and the Board of Education offered to purchase a building site located on land owned by a Mrs. Felix Warburg. Subsequently, Mrs. Warburg agreed instead to give her entire estate to the community and conveyed the deed to a 150 acre tract to the Board of Education of Union Free School District No. 8. The property included woods, ponds, orchards, meadows, a forty room mansion, two frame houses, and a polo field. One of these buildings now houses a nursery school, the mansion houses the district's Administration offices and Kindergarten classrooms, Juniper Hill a modern split level elementary school was built on the Warburg grounds in 1959, and Woodlands High School, a five building complex for eighth through twelfth graders opened in 1961.

THE MERGER YEARS

While Greenburgh expanded its facilities and pioneered efforts which became associated with its emerging philosophy of "quality integrated education," neighboring Hartsdale established a reputation as a very small and innovative all white school district. Having no high school nor school population projections which would merit building one, Hartsdale sent its secondary level students to White Plains on a tuition basis. Annually Hartsdale considered proposals for merging with numerous neighboring school districts. Merger proposals became more crucial, however, when White Plains notified outlying districts that by 1960 their high school could no longer accommodate out-of-district students. After a series of conferences with Hartsdale officials, White Plains agreed to a plan commonly referred to as the "Battle Hill Plan" which allowed Hartsdale

junior high pupils to attend Battle Hill Junior High School in White Plains, and senior high pupils to continue to go to White Plains High School. Problems surfaced again in 1961, however, regarding whether or not White Plains could refuse to accept Hartsdale students. In the Fall of 1962, a three-district merger proposal for Hartsdale 7, Greenburgh 8 and Elmsford 9 was formulated and received support from the State Department of Education. This proposal was defeated by Districts 8 and 9 in an April referendum, however.

On March 14, 1964 voters from Hartsdale and Greenburgh went to the polls again to vote on a two-district merger. The plan was defeated in Hartsdale by nearly a two-to-one vote and supported in Greenburgh by over thirteen-to-one. Since approval was needed in both districts, the merger was rejected.

The merger struggles continued, growing in bitterness and taking on strong racial overtones. Hartsdale continued to petition the State for merger with other neighboring white affluent districts. Commissioner Allen, however, denied the petitions in lieu of the Hartsdale-Greenburgh merger, upholding an appeal made by the Greenburgh Board of Education. A public referendum was scheduled for August 6, 1967 which was resisted in Hartsdale in light of a new state law wherein merger passage did not require approval in both districts, but by a majority of the combined vote. Greenburgh was at least twice as large as Hartsdale and was overwhelmingly in favor of the merger. It was thus a foregone conclusion that if it came to a vote, the merger would pass. The president of the Hartsdale Board of Education and other merger opponents sought and were reportedly granted an injunction against the balloting by the State Supreme Court in Albany. This was immediately appealed by the State Education Department and the voting proceeded. There was a general boycott of the vote in Hartsdale. Approximately 3500 ballots were cast, and the merger was confirmed.

The merger activities had taken place over a long period of time and the issues were many. In Greenburgh, black community participation had been small

and a black member of the current Board of Education stated "the fight was a white fight."

Others consider the litigation occasioned by the merger plans and view struggle as a battle between the two Boards of Education. Many in Hartsdale today still cite coercion by the State Department of Education and a remark that "old District 7 was led into the merger screaming" is characteristic of their view.

Major factors existed in Greenburgh 8, however, which led to support of the merger. A very high per pupil expenditure and a very high rate of taxation contributed an economic urgency to the campaign to merge with Hartsdale which would improve the tax base. Many in District 8 were also very much concerned with maintaining the racial balance. A gradual but steady influx of a low income black population led to fears in the white community that the racial balance was approaching a shift. A member of the Greenburgh Board of Education during the merger years stated:

> There was a relatively strong feeling, a taut understanding in the white educational community as well as the black middle class educational community that if the racial balance shifted to over 30 or 40 percent, experience had shown in other communities that integration would go down the drain because the district would be known as and become a black district, and the white families and the black middle class and rising middle class population might leave. There was that fear. There was a strong feeling among many people that an influx of a white middle class relatively stable student population would be helpful.

Another individual, active in Greenburgh's pro-merger activities stated:

> It wasn't that we were trying to avoid our responsibilities to the poorer black children in the area. But there was the fear that if the numbers got to a certain point, then we would lose what we had been fighting for for years. So stability of the population and stability of racial balance in the system was something that was considered quite important in District 8.

While negative opinions from District 8 weren't many, they were expressed strongly but rather quietly by a significant but not large group of blacks in

the community, with some whites expressing the same view. The main fear that the strong commitment to integration would be lost and programs would be defeated. Budgets had been passed for years in District 8, and there was strong community support for integration programs. The credo of integrated schools, an integrated faculty, and hetrogeneous grouping at the elementary level were matters of religious faith. However, it was clear that District 8 had a significant number of anti-budget people. There was a fear that to bring in a large number of people who had expressed opposition to the merger would reinforce any negative forces already existing in the district and court disaster. A former Greenburgh Board member stated:

> Those who had reservations about the merger feared that the negative attitudes of the vast majority of District 7 people, as expressed in the newpapers, in their compaigns, in the prior votes against merger in an individual bases, in the litigation that they carried on, just meant courting trouble. There was a feeling of--we know what we have, we like what we had. Let's solve our own problems and not ruin the whole thing by bringing into our midst people who were basically prijudiced against us or antagonistic.

Another community member stated:

> In 8 we had reservations about bringing in whites who would upset what we had worked so hard for. We almost wanted to go it ourselves.

Nevertheless, the merger had the strong support of the Board of Education, the school establishment, and the citizens of District 8.

The need for a high school was one of the major reasons some individuals in Hartsdale favored the merger. One active proponent of the merger stated "It was very unstable. We never knew where our children would be going to school. It was wild, and with all of the ridiculous proposals being raised for merger with other districts, we were becoming a laughing stock district." A small but very active pro-merger committee existed in Hartsdale, strongly committed to the

ideal of integrated education. A member of this committee stated:

> We wrote letters, we went to Albany and pounded on the Commissioner's door and sat there until he would see us. We were too middle class to protest or sit in there. We just sat in the chairs until he would see us. We had attorneys who worked with us occasionally. We wrote letters, the usual kind of thing to get candidates elected on the Board. We were an irascible kind of minority. We knew we were right, that kind of thing. It makes me quail a little bit now.

Over the years when the merger controversy raged in Hartsdale, many anti-merger groups evolved, providing wide ranging support to the Board of Education's legal efforts to resist any union with Greenburgh. Many individuals openly opposed the merger around such concern as sacrificing the education of their children by mixing them with "slower children." Racial overtones increasingly characterized merger opposition, and individuals openly expressed the view that the quality of education would deteriorate if black children were in a district. Such views mobilized the community and came from Board members, former Board members, citizen groups, and numerous individuals. The Board of Education hired experts in an attempt to prove that the merged district would result in an inferior education, and challenged the standards on the basis of which the Commissioner of Education directed the merger, standards in terms of what was good for the children of the districts. This atmosphere culminated in the general boycott of the merger referendum by Hartsdale residents.

A NEW DISTRICT

District Reorganization

After the merger, a new nine member Board of Education was formed, consisting of the six Board members from Greenburgh and three members from Hartsdale. Since all six Greenburgh Board members had supported the merger, this Board was held together to avoid internal fights. The three members from Hartsdale consisted of the sole member of the old District 7 Board who had favored the merger, a former President of the District 7 Board who later became

President of the merged Board, and a prominent pro-merger citizen.

Greenburgh Central School District No. 7 represented an extension of the racial-balance concept to the Hartsdale elementary schools, and old District 8's fundamental policy of integrated classrooms prevailed. Children from throughout the district were heterogeneously mixed to provide broad representation of socio-economic, cultural, and racial background, intellectual ability and achievement, and geographical areas. Centralization of the two districts provided an eight plant pool to house pupils, and the attendance plan for the children of the merged district was as follows:

Kindergarten		Warburg
Kindergarten, 1st, 2nd	-	Juniper Hill
1st, 2nd, 3rd	-	Highview (Hartsdale)
1st, 2nd, 3rd	-	Washington Ave. School (Hartsdale)
4th, 5th, 6th	-	Old Tarrytown Road School
4th, 5th, 6th	-	R. J. Bailey School
7th	-	Webb School (Hartsdale)
8th - 12th	-	Woodlands High School

Prior to the merger, Hartsdale was approximately 99 per cent white, while Greenburgh 8 was 38 per cent black and 62 per cent white. Between 1960 and 1968, the proportion of black children in the Greenburgh school population averaged approximately thirty-seven percent of the total school population with no significant variation in the proportion from year to year. Table 3 illustrates the impact of the merger on the racial distribution of the school population. In grades K-6, the proportion of blacks dropped more than ten percent during the initial merger year. The impact was less dramatic in the upper grades since many Hartsdale 7 students had attended Woodlands High School prior to the merger.

TABLE 3

Percentage Distribution of Black Students
Pro and Post Merger

	K-6	7-12
Pre Merger		
1965-66	38.2	37.5
1967-68	38.7	35.2
Post Merger		
1969-70	26.8	32.0
1970-71	29.1	34.1

The Professional Staff

Against the backdrop of the long merger controversy, staff members in both Hartsdale and Greenburgh developed wide ranging attitudes about the proposed union of the districts. Varied emotions reflected enthusiastic support, apprehension, resentment and rigid opposition. While both districts had a philosophy reflecting a commitment to individualized instruction, the nature of individualization in each district differed drastically. Greenburgh's classrooms were heterogeneously grouped and individualized instruction symbolozed the challenge of meeting the needs of students having diverse abilities, and ethnic and social backgrounds. The socially homogeneous white middle class student population of Hartsdale was homogeneously grouped according to ability in old District 7's classrooms where individualized instruction often meant enrichment and independent study activities. In both districts, however, staff members tended to remain uninvolved in the merger activities. A Greenburgh principal stated "Neither administrators nor teachers were significantly involved, except in an informational way, in formulating plans or dealing with some of the anticipated problems prior to the merger."

A Hartsdale teacher stated:

> In Hartsdale, we were very seldom consulted. Our Board was strongly against it. We were kind of trapped in between because most of us felt that there was no question about the merger passing--the only question was when the teachers were busy trying to keep themselves in a position where they weren't out on a limb where they'd get themselves cut off by creating any kind of disturbance.

Many Hartsdale teachers were not happy with the prospect of losing the intimate atmosphere of the small district where classes were kept small, and innovative practices were encouraged. One teacher expressed the following view:

> The biggest concern was that we were going to lose not only the benefits we enjoyed, but the setting we had. It was, and I'm probably exaggerating, like a private school where you have small classes, and a lot of activities that were independent study within the classroom setting. We had teachers--and this sounds like I'm downplaying Greenburgh, but I'm not--we had teachers who were hired because they were highly recommended by other districts. It was a place to come, you know, like when you hit the top. This was one of our selling points. We would say this was a prestige area.

Other Hartsdale concerns focussed upon economic benefits and fears over teaching in a desegregated situation. Illustrative of these concerns are the following teacher commentaries.

> I think very few were really against the merger. I think a lot of those that might have been against it, might have been because of the economics involved. By that I mean we were always kept near the top salary wise, and we figured that when you get a big district like this, you're going to get less money and less benefits, and it's more or less been true.

> A lot of teachers were concerned with whether they could handle the black children or not. Many of those who thought they couldn't left.

> I think they were concerned about working with a different type of student. Perhaps a little fearful of discipline problems, and also with the idea of a possible change in relationship with the Board of Education. You know, we had the kind of situation where teachers could sit down and discuss problems and contracts in a very friendly manner with the Board of Education in Old 7. There was some concern that all that might be changed.

> The teachers were very much a reflection of the community. The ones who had never worked with black children or had any dealings with them, reflected some of the same fears. A few retired early

or transferred to other districts because of their own fears about whether they could handle it. A few people in the community moved too. But every teacher objection was underground objection, grumbling; nothing overt, nothing in the press, and when they were interviewed by the press, it was never in terms of black-white. It was just--well-we liked it the way we had it. Everything was nice and cozy, and why do we have to do this.

Some were concerned they couldn't work with black children and left. Others were 100% for the merger, and couldn't wait for it. Then there was a middle group that was passive, more or less locked in, more or less concerned, who were less willing to change. We had radicals on both ends.

I think we felt we had to prove ourselves as people who were concerned with black kids. I think many were also concerned about whether they could deal effectively with an integrated situation.

While most of the staff in Greenburgh supported the merger, some resentment about Hartsdale attitudes was expressed.

"7" didn't want us and this bothered people. We had the facilities, yet we were trying to sell what we had to offer. Many felt we were asking why we should have to bend over backwards. Also they were telling us they had many more students who were going on to college, and made us feel we weren't doing enough academically. Then, too, security of jobs was at stake. Would there be as many jobs? We were told, however, this would not happen, that each job would be secure. We wanted to know what they were offering our children. We had the whole spectrum of children from low to high. They didn't have this.

There were teachers who felt as I did that children were children, and we could teach them all. We were angered that they would feel we couldn't give their children a good education. We were more in the real world and facing things in that all children had a great deal to offer. We were not threatened by the merger. We knew we could do it. Our only concern was will classes be larger. We were individualized, and small classes are necessary for this.

Another teacher summarized some views in Greenburgh in the following way:

We felt that this would further integrate our district. District 7 had only one black child, and we felt the merger would be helpful to our Kids. We felt our Kids could compete with the Hartsdale group successfully, certainly on an emotional level, and on an academic one too. The problems we saw from 7 was the less individualized more structured teaching. We felt we would be getting Kids who had been taught in a more structured atmosphere. We had few cons except how would students taught in a more structured atmosphere do in a more individualized setting. The cons were more on the Hartsdale side. They didn't want the

> merger so they were apprehensive. We had more acting-out problems in our district. They also had students with problems, but they didn't act them out as much. Their kind of children would keep their problems inside more. We really felt the merger would be a positive thing. It would expand our district. We had taught many children similar to the Hartsdale children in a way, but our district wasn't tauted for this.

Although the key administrators and a significant number of teachers in Hartsdale broke with their own Board and the community and supported the merger, there was a feeling among both the staff and community of Greenburgh that the Hartsdale staff and community weren't ready to function in an integrated situation. A primary task of the new Board of Education and top administration was to provide mechanisms which would motivate the total staff to work together harmoniously in meeting the needs of the diverse student population. Some inter-school visitation took place after the merger vote, but generally, contact between the Hartsdale and Greenburgh staffs was minimal. For many of the older teachers in the Hartsdale district, the transition represented a traumatic uprooting. While most teachers expressed willingness to meet the challenges inherent in the merger, there was some resistance to moving out of schools. Hartsdale teachers were reluctant to go to the Greenburgh schools and Greenburgh teachers didn't want to go to the Hartsdale schools. Staff reassignment had to be mandated, and there was much confusion about where teachers would be at the opening of school, September, 1968. A Hartsdale teacher stated "You didn't know who you'd work for or who you'd work with or where you'd work. None of that was decided until very late the year of the merger--by June we finally knew what was going to happen and where we were going." Principals from old 7 and old 8 participated in the process of assigning teachers to the various schools. However, the distribution of Hartsdale and Greenburgh teachers in each school was not balanced. Each teacher was guaranteed a job and would select the grade he/she preferred to teach. When adamant resistance was expressed regarding assignment to a particular school, this was taken into consideration.

Nevertheless, faculty groups were broken up and a new era began. A Hartsdale teacher at the Washington Avenue School stated:

> We had a completely new staff here. The old staff went to other buildings with new principals. Friendships were not actually broken, but you didn't see each other constantly anymore. So it was an upheaval. People hate to move. And to move a classroom is a tremendous job. We were fortunate in retaining the same principal at the time.

Some tension marked staff relationships during the first merger year. A Greenburgh teacher felt; "everybody was scared of everybody. You were afraid to say anything in your building because you didn't know who was who. There was a lot of distrust."

For Hartsdale teachers, the merger meant dealing with a wider range of student backgrounds, interests, and abilities. Greenburgh teachers, both black and white, expressed concern about whether or not Hartsdale teachers had either the empathy or competency to teach black children. Teacher comments lend insight into the complexity of the problems which emerged.

> Very little had been done to involve teachers in the merger process. We had had one visit with the new district. They visited us, and we visited them. Nothing was done with the children to prepare them, and it was a very edgy first year. Very edgy. Everybody was very nervous about how people were going to go. The kids had been led to believe that the districts on either side didn't want them. Each one was sort of uncomfortable and afraid of the other (Greenburgh teacher).

> As a black teacher, and I know some other black teachers feel this way, there were some teachers who were over-sympathetic, you know, poor little children, this kind of thing. And there were teacher aides, if a child refused to do something, they'd love them up and cajole them, and you know, we tried to convince them this is not the way to handle that child. He's got to know that he is not different in either way (Greenburgh teacher).

> The one thing that did happen is that we did get a larger spread academically in the classes, where before that I had the same number of children in the room. In the past, I would only have one or two who were candidates for remedial work, let's say. Now I get four or five. In another respect where it is different probably is where the children coming from the ghetto areas and the white children also who are lower socio-economic class tend to be more acting out children. I think Kenneth

> Clark did a study once where the middle class children internalize their problems more so you get the headaches, the stomach aches, and the throwing up. But the ghetto children will punch you right in the nose. In that respect, it was a bit of an adjustment even for me who lived in the district. But teaching and learning to cope with all that acting out made the first year a little difficult. We have to work harder here. (Hartsdale teacher)
>
> Unfortunately, I think we all had many concerns. We sort of lived with suspicions. I did an awful lot to open up this whole business of self-evaluation with my teachers. Who did we think we were, and who were we, you know. There are some today who would still run from the situation, and they're right here in this building. There's evidence of differences between staff from the two districts. But you know, I don't think you can change people this fast to what was really kind of a radical change for many. (Hartsdale administrator)
>
> At first, people who came together from a building would cling together. There were many accusations of partiality, and not all of them were necessarily racial, but existed. And many of them were built out of proportion. I think our supersensitivities came through in some of the clashes, many expressed, and many as undercurrents. Often they were directed in terms of children, but they were really personality clashes and misunderstandings of attitudes. (Hartsdale teacher)

The Board of Education of the new district recognized that staff problems needed to be addressed if the district was to move from a condition of desegregation to integration. A Task Force of teachers, parents, and students was formed to study district needs and make recommendations to the Board of Education. The following potential problems were identified by the committee after a year of interviewing, discussion, and debate.

1. The tendency of teachers to rely on sterotypes which tend to produce a low expectancy level for students of certain social, racial, economic and occupational groups, thereby adversely affecting students' achievement.

   a. Students are seen as able to do only what those of the group with which they are associated can do.

   b. A low expectancy level can manifest itself in an attitude of leaning over backwards "tender condescension". This is a form of rejection in which the effect is not to press students to work up to their full level of ability. There is a need to agressively seek out talent.

c. Sterotyping can produce a tendency to confuse individual problems with group problems and leads to a lack of recognition of individual needs.

d. There is often a reluctance to objectively examine one's own real attitudes, for many reasons. Self-awareness might help to eliminate some of the attitudes which are detrimental to children's progress. The nature of our society is such that every individual develops some degree of latent racist tendencies. While this obviously varies, and in many cases is unconscious, it should be faced and dealt with.

2. A rejection of the student's indigenous background of knowledge and experience that he brings with him to school. This attitude is often expressed in the feeling that a student is "culturally deprived". The student in reality has knowledge of a culture which teachers often have not experienced.[1]

During the 1970-71 school year, a series of inservice workshops was instituted by the Board of Education. Fourteen released time days were granted, with workshops held on Wednesday afternoons from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m. Exploring and promoting the concept of individualized instruction in a desegregated setting was the overall rationale of the program. Workshop opportunities were created to stimulate staff interaction throughout the system, to expose teachers to new ideas, methods, materials, and outside resource people, and to stimulate attitudinal exploration. In a description of the project entitled "Greenburgh Central No. 7 Staff Development: Individualized Instruction in the Desegregated Setting," the following specific objectives were identified for the workshop program:

1. To develop sensitivity of the teacher to the individuality of the child irrespective of race or social class

2. To promote empathy on the part of the school staff to the variety of ways children learn

3. To identify methods and approaches to instruction that are responsive to multiple learning styles

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[1]Robert D. Frelow, "Greenburgh Central Seven: A Descriptive Inventory of Desegregation Activity 1932-1972".

4. To maximize opportunities for instruction between all members of the school community

5. To provide more opportunities for exchange between teachers, administrators and students

The following specific performance objectives were also identified:

1. To develop classroom-teacher management skills as they relate to individualized instruction in the desegregated classroom

2. To develop teacher skills in the diagnosis of reading and math deficiencies

3. To develop teacher ability to prescribe alternative approaches to teaching math and reading

4. To develop collaborative behavior among staff, students, and community in the setting of objectives, and the planning of classroom, school and community activities

An evaluation of the workshop series indicated that a beginning had been made in an exploration of staff attitudes, in pooling of ideas and investigating new materials, in providing outside resource help, and in staff interaction. Equally revealed were dissension, poor communication, and a painful struggle to find strong directions for meeting the needs of the new district. Nevertheless, faculty members began dealing with the realities of the merged district, and new meanings were explored for the future of "quality integrated education" in Greenburgh Central No. 7.

THE DISTRICT TODAY

School and Staff Racial Balance

Student assignment to district schools in Central 7 today reflects the practices which had been established in Greenburgh 8. While statistics alone do not reveal the quality of education or interaction in an ethnically mixed school setting, they do provide some indications of the possibilities for equal status in such settings. Over 80 percent of the student population is bussed to Greenburgh schools, and students attend four schools in completing their K-12 education. Table 4 shows that the predicted exodus of the white student

student population as a result of the merger has not materialized, and the ratio of black students in each school approximates the total district ratio. The largest difference is at the Warburg Kindergarten, where there is an 8 percent difference from the district ratio. (See Table 4, page 21)

Staffing patterns reveal uneven distributions of whites and blacks in most schools, and administrative positions have not been equally distributed among blacks and whites. Table 5 shows that twenty-three percent of the teaching staff in the district today is black, an increase from nineteen percent in 1968. (See Table 5, page 22) During 1972-73, the district had only one black principal in an intermediate school and an acting principal who was black at one of the primary schools. At the Central Administration level, the Assistant Superintendent for Instruction is black. At Woodlands High School, the Vice Principal, a Dean of Students, and two of six guidance counselors are black.

TABLE 4

Student Racial Distribution

Greenburgh Central No. Seven--1972-1973

School	White	Black	Oriental	Span/Am.	Total	% Black
Warburg Kdg.	167	54	20	4	245	22
Juniper Hill	303	128	21	5	457	28
Washington Avenue	112	53	5	5	175	30
Highview	254	111	15	0	380	29
Old Tarrytown Road	205	83	8	3	299	28
Bailey	345	193	8	0	546	35
Webb	162	86	5	2	255	34
Woodlands	881	412	10	14	1317	31
Totals	2429 (66%)	1120	92 (3%)	33 (1%)	3674	30

TABLE 5

Staff Racial Composition

Greenburgh Central No. Seven 1972-1973

	Teachers			
	Number		Percentages	
School	B	W	B	W
Nursery	3	5	38	52
Warburg Kdg.	0	10	0	100
Juniper Hill	6	21	22	78
Highview	6	19	24	76
Washington Ave.	2	14	13	87
Old Tarrytown Road	7	15	32	68
Bailey	15	24	38	62
Webb	5	17	23	77
Woodlands	21	88	19	81
Totals	65	213	23	77

The Greenburgh Board of Education consists of nine members, three black, five Jewish, and one Italian. These individuals represent a wide continuum from liberal to conservative among both blacks and whites. On race related issues, however the black members are known to present a solid front. One of them stated that the coalition between the three black Board members reflected their basic concern over "a better education for black students." He added, however, "some black Board members are more militant than others." Another black Board member felt that "there are strong racial feelings on the Board of Education and we are segmented. Questions about the quality of education are raised, and are looked upon as a racial issue. The black Board Trustees are accountable to and represent the black community. White Board Trustees do not see the black community as a viable part of the community, and thus do not feel accountable to them."

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Student Interaction

All elementary school classrooms are heterogeneously grouped according to three primary factors: achievement, race, and sex. The principal of each school has the primary responsibility for assigning students, and generally considers teacher recommendations. Special consideration is given to particular students in terms of learning style, behavior, personality, peer relationships and parent request. Otherwise, students are placed so that each class is heterogeneous by reading ability, balanced by sex, and reflects a racial balance consistant with the district ratio.

Class size does not exceed twenty-five students, and in terms of numbers, students are theoretically provided with ample opportunities to interact in their classes with individuals who differ ethnically. The district provides a wide range of guidance, speech, health, psychological and social services. Teacher assistants and reading specialists and elementary school teachers in

giving more individual help to students. Art, music, and physical education are integral components in the curriculum. Student clubs and after school activities are minimal at the primary and intermediate levels, however.

Visits in the district's elementary schools reveal attractive classrooms, rich with a variety of materials. Teaching styles vary tremendously, but methods throughout the district are consistently related to individualized instruction. Interest areas, and flexible grouping for a variety of activities characterize many classrooms, and many similarities exist between the district's identified "open classrooms" and those which are considered more traditional or structured.

Friendly interaction between black and white students took place in many of the observed classes, as well as instances where students voluntarily segregated themselves by race when seating was left to their own choice. Regrouping for reading and mathematics activities often resulted in segregated patterns as well. Playground and cafeteria groupings were noticeably segregated, but friendly interaction between many black and white students was equally apparent. Segregation seemed more conscious at the upper grade levels. Black and white primary students were far more open and affectionate with each other than upper grade students. Many teachers expressed the view that voluntary seating follows friendship patterns, and these are affected very strongly by the economic and social backgrounds of the children. A teacher stated: "I think the lower class black kids tend to stay together while the middle class blacks tend to mix much more easily with the white children."

Other teacher commentary regarding relationships between black and white students included the following:

> Now if you teach here in the elementary school--and from what I understand, things are different at the high school--you see a lot of positive relationships. Here they go out, they play together, they sit together, they work together, and sometimes they work wonderfully together. Other times, there'll be a

> fight, but even if you have a fight, it's not usually a thing of you're black, and I'm white. It's a matter of--you're not playing the game like I want to play it, and therefore we have a fight.
>
> There is a consciousness of race, but on the whole thy get along comfortably. There has not been much racial conflict this year, but in the past there has been quite a bit.
>
> Some of the social interaction tends to follow black and white lines, but I think this is because the two groups tend to live in separate neighborhoods and naturally form friendships there.
>
> The kids all play together until the 6th grade, and then you see the girls separate very much. The boys still play together, but the black girls, and white girls form separate groups on the playground in the 6th grade.

Staff Interaction

Greenburgh Central No. Seven is still seeking mechanisms to bring together disparate elements of a staff which commute to the district from all directions, and hold views widely varying in either liberal or conservative orientations. Staff separation today reflects black and white alignments, as well as some resentful undercurrents which still divide old 7 and old 8 teachers. While some of the district teachers initially emphasize the present "oneness" of the merged staffs, their responses to questions quickly reveal old loyalties.

Many staff members particularly cite the social schism that exists between white and black staff members, however. Illustrative of their concerns are the following statements by elementary teachers.

> As a staff, we probably interact very well. Socially, I don't believe there's that much interaction. I know some of the black teachers get together and eat together, and some of the white teachers get together and eat together. Unfortunately, it's like the children. When school is over, we all go to our personal homes, and most of us come from great distances--New York, New Rochelle, Ossining--people come from as far away as Connecticut. To that extent, we should probably do more social activity together, but we just don't seem to get off the ground.
>
> There is some degree of separation--not hostile, but it does fall into separate patterns. But this shouldn't be over-emphasized. Lines can be crossed.

> It used to be much better than it is now. Recently the move has been towards definite separation of black and white faculty. There used to be a number of things, such as a bowling team and so forth, that both black and white teachers participated in, but that has all changed.
>
> There are some hard feelings on the part of black staff members toward white staff members, and white toward black. Because of the feeling among both groups, as a principal I have to be very careful, you know, because if they feel I'm favoring one group more than the other, than they are on me, and this might intensify the feelings more.
>
> People are loaded with defensiveness and angriness, and the feelings are in depth. No school system is set up to work really in depth on a thing of that nature. They're set up for an exchange at a faculty meeting. They're set up for an occasional course on a workshop, you know. But they're not set up for day to day depths from teacher to teacher. A teacher is a person who works in isolation. We don't work collaboratively with one another. We close our doors and work alone. This means that you have to set up special mechanisms to provide time for people to work together.

Parent Involvement

A district-wide Parent Teacher Association and numerous district and school committees offer opportunities for parent involvement in the schools. Both black and white representation can be found in these groups, but those who do become involved tend to come from the middle class component of the community. In many instances, working parents in both the white and black community find it difficult to attend even the individual conferences scheduled twice per year for parents and teachers in the elementary school. The concerns of black parents focus upon black achievement, and strong and conservative voices are emerging in the black community calling for measures of accountability and cost effectiveness. Alarmed at achievement results, blacks are demanding a focus upon the acquisition of basic skills.

White parents voice fears about a deterioration in the quality of education, and the lowering of standards in the district. Nevertheless, most parents interviewed voiced support of the district's efforts to provide viable educational

opportunities for all of its students.

Multi-Ethnic Offerings

Many multi-ethnic texts have been used in the district for years. Topical offerings which would consistently and comprehensively reflect the black experience throughout the elementary school curriculum have not been developed, however, in spite of the district's continual focus on the need for such offerings. Materials developed immediately after the merger tended to be outlines of suggested activites rather than solidly founded curricula. A reflection of the black experience on the elementary level thus varies from teacher to teacher, and in most cases appears in various social studies units. Elementary school libraries are rich with multi-ethnic materials, however, and librarians state they are used widely by both teachers and students.

ACADEMIC OUTCOMES IN DISTRICT SEVEN

Providing equal educational opportunity for all of its students has long been a goal of the Greenburgh Central School District #7. Professing a philosophy characterized by the motto "quality integrated education" the district has sought to reflect organizational and instructional strategies which would result in successful academic achievement by both minority and non-minority students. For the past ten years, and particularly in the past four, much effort focussed upon new approaches to grouping, staffing, curriculum, personnel utilization, selection and development of instructional materials, in-service programs for teachers, involvement of parents, and the utilization of volunteers. In spite of such efforts, however, achievement data in the basic skills areas of reading and math show downward trends for the district as a whole and also provide evidence of a need to close the academic gap between minority and non-minority students.

To assess the impact of desegregation on student performance, a comparison of group test results was undertaken, using the New York State reading and Arithmatic Competency tests. The State group scores are in three categories:

"Above Average" which represents the top 23% of the normal New York State student population.

"Average" which represents the center 54% of the normal New York State student population.

"Below Average" which represents the lowest 23% of the normal New York State student population; it is this theoretical lowest 23% that has arbitrarily designated by the State as "below minimum competence."

Tables 6 and 7 summarize test results in the District, County, and State for grades 3, 6, and 9 over a five year period from 1968-1972. (Grade 9 data for 1972 was not available)

Reading results shown in Table 6 show the most alarming results occuring at the ninth grade level where the percentage of students scoring below the minimum competency level increased by 16% over the five year period and compared unfavorably with county and state norms. Mathematics test results shown in Table 7 reveal that by 1971, 45% of the ninth grades scored below the minimum competence level. Patterns for grades 3 and 6 are not unlike those for the County and State where there is an increase in the deficit percentages from grade 3 to grade 6 from 1968-1972.

TABLE 6

Combined Greenburgh Central District #7 and County and State Fall Mathematics Evaluation Test Results

		District					County					State				
		1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
	Above	27	38	35	37	34	32	32	33	32	32	23	25	24	24	24
Grade 3	Average	54	50	50	48	44	54	53	53	52	52	52	54	54	55	55
	Below	19	12	15	15	22	14	15	14	16	16	25	21	22	21	21
	Above	19	23	13	15	14	27	25	26	23	22	21	21	19	17	17
Grade 6	Average	51	48	49	45	54	54	54	51	51	51	51	52	51	50	51
	Below	30	29	38	40	32	19	21	23	26	27	28	27	30	33	32
Grade 9	Below	9	29	27	45		25	20	21	23		26	26	28	29	

TABLE 7

Combined Greenburgh Central District #7 and County and State Fall Reading Evaluation Test Results

		District					County					State				
		1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
	Above	25	34	35	23	30	31	31	31	31	30	22	23	22	21	21
Grade 3	Average	51	45	42	55	45	52	52	52	50	51	51	52	52	52	57
	Below	24	21	23	22	25	17	17	17	19	19	27	25	26	27	27
	Above	31	28	26	18	24	30	30	28	26	25	22	21	20	18	17
Grade 6	Average	50	53	44	49	50	52	52	52	53	53	51	53	52	52	53
	Below	19	19	30	33	26	18	18	20	21	22	27	26	28	30	30
Grade 9																
	Below	15	16	19	31		21	18	17	18		24	24	24	29	

These results, however, do not provide data regarding the relative performance of black children in the district. In order to obtain more specific information, a research project was initiated in the district to determine if there were continuing correlations between low-achievement, race and socio-economic levels in the district.

Table 8 indicates the percentage of black students in grades 1-12 in the district and the number and percentage of black students included in the study.

TABLE 8

Percentage of Black Students in District and in Research Study--1971-72

Grade	District	Research Study	
	%	N	%
1	30	88	25
2	32	87	25
3	28	86	26
4	34	60	32
5	35	55	31
6	34	57	35
7	34	105	37
8	30	86	24
9	41	94	33
10	33	82	21
11	39	88	36
12	34	65	31

Utilizing Metropolitan Achievement Tests which had been administered in grades 1-9, the district statistically tested the hypothesis that there would be

significant correlations between race and low-achievement and SES and low-achievement.

The correlation coefficients in Table 9 corroborate the hypothesis that in all instances except for grades 5 and 7 math and reading, and grade 1 reading, significant relationships exist between race and low achievement in math and reading.

While the exceptions at the first, fifth and seventh grade levels are encouraging, the results are too isolated to give credence to the hypothesis that low achievers in the district are not reflecting racial and socio-economic factors.

TABLE 9

CORRELATIONS COEFFICIENTS FOR MATHEMATICS AND READING LOW ACHIEVEMENT, RACE, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL: GREENBURGH CENTRAL DISTRICT #7, 1971-72--GRADES 1-7 (.01 LEVEL)

Grade	N	SES & Race	SES & Reading	SES & Math	Race & Reading	Race & Math
1	94	.62	.37	.47	.27	.44
2	86	.56	.49	.58	.51	.62
3	88	.57	.50	.59	.52	.52
4	61	.53	.34	.56	.17	.31
5	55	.49	.62	.60	.57	.56
6	57	.59	.40	.53	.39	.46
7	100	.37	.64	.52	.24	.24
	541					

Achievement and Expectations

Many teachers in Greenburgh, both black and white, link low achievement by minority students to low teacher expectations. One black teacher cited a tendency of white teachers, in her opinion, to cater to black students. "Black students need stronger and definite limits on their behavior, and teachers are harming black students by not being firm enough with them." She also felt that white teachers do not have high enough expectations for black students, and thus did not push them to learn, but were willing to be satisfied if they merely showed up for class. Two black teachers made the following statements about teacher expectations for black students.

> The black children particularly look on you as weak if you can't maintain some kind of control, and if you let them get away with things. And after awhile, they accept the fact there are somethings they just can't do. And if you constantly give in and let them do this, then you're losing the battle when it gets to learning and everything else.

> I have some black kids who are on both sides of the spectrum. People say it's the home if the black kids don't achieve, but what happens is not just because of the parents. Some teachers are letting black kids play anytime they want. Any child knows if they can get extra attention from the teacher. Take Kevin for example. In the past he knew if he did certain things he could get away with it. I don't let him get away with anything the other kids can't get away with. He thinks I'm a crazy woman sometimes, but he's not going to run this class.

> White teachers are over-compensating with black kids. Black parents don't want their children running the classes. People have to start looking at children as children, and treat them all the same. Kevin will go out in the playground and raise hell and curse; but never in front of me in this room. In the past, teachers knew his family would fight at night. He would look sleppy and teachers wouldn't make him work. It was pathetic when I got him. He couln't read at all. If he knows a teacher will tolerate something he will take them through the gamut. He has achieved more this year then he has since kindergarten, because I'll keep him inside if he doesn't do his work just as I will anyone else. And you know, no matter how much we go at it all day, he won't get on that bus without kissing me goodbye. At the high school, I've heard that the students want some kind of discipline. They want to know their boundaries. They know I care. If they have problems, we can sit down and talk about them. Black kids cut up because they're allowed.

> Look around this room. Are the black kids acting any different than the white kids? Both blacks and whites will try to get away with what they can. They'll do exactly what they're allowed to.

The problem of black student achievement presents a dilemma to white teachers as the following comments illustrate.

> There are too many whites who won't take the necessary action to demand performance from black students. But as a teacher, I may get backing, and I may not. And it's the same all the way up the line--if the principal takes some action, he may get support or he may not. Everybody is afraid to take a firm stand because they get in a racial hassle.

> I don't think that we have really mastered the cultural difference thing between black and white persons. I'm still hacking away at it. I've had some pretty good results at it, but I don't think that I've solved it. And part of it is that being a white teacher with a black child, I'll make an automatic assumption that he has a greater need, let's say, than the other kid, and I make a greater allowance. I have to work on myself to cut out that nonsense, and then make him do what he's supposed to do--period. Because you think he comes from another culture, or he can't do this, or he's not used to me, or he's hostile, or the poor kid has a poor vocabulary, you don't expect enough of him. A horrible underestimating of the black child goes on, and I have to fight it every minute of every day, and make him do what I know he can do. And in doing that I have seen a major change in kids that come in "below level" and have made up a year or two. It took me a long time to see that in myself.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The Webb School

All of Greenburgh Seven's seventh graders are housed in the Webb School. During 1972-73, there were 260 students at Webb and 20 staff members including those shared with the elementary schools and high schools. Five of the staff members are black and there are eight staff members who were at Webb prior to the merger. Each teacher has a five period day, and classes average twent-three students. Classes are heterogeneously grouped in terms of race, sex, and academic achievement, except for foreign languages. All students take a foreign language and are placed in either a conventional French or Spanish program or in a Readiness Program. Most of the students in the latter program are black, and there are plans to drop it next year for a Resource Skills Program which would be mainly compensatory and focus on language skills. The principal indicated, however, that black students are now making the Honor Roll, which was not the case immediately after the merger. He feels that black parents' concerns today are focussed upon the academic achievement of their children rather than on racial incidents. Two black teachers at Webb spoke strongly about white teachers' low expectations for black students in terms of achievement, and felt white teachers are satisfied if the black students just showed up for class. One stated, "The potential of a black student is perceived in relation to conditions in the home, his economic condition, and things of

this nature, rather than in relation to his innate ability." These teachers also stated that "black parents are concerned about the achievement of their children, and want them taught instead of socialized."

White teachers also cited the concern over black student achievement, and expressed feelings that some current problems are an outgrowth of an emphasis during the first year of the merger "when we were to try to make the students feel comfortable with one another, and try to get to know the students and understand them. In our attempt to do this, standards were lowered in terms of student behavior and achievement." A white teacher added that "all teachers are trying, and trying means trying to understand black students, trying to get along with them, trying to be open-minded, trying to help the students get along with one another, and trying to teach the black students." White teachers at Webb also cited the concern expressed by parents of the high achieving white students at Webb that their children "are not being challenged." The feelings of these parents seem linked to the factor of heterogeneous grouping, which they perceive as aiding the low ability student at the expense of the high achiever.

The nine period day at Webb includes a homeroom period when integrated group guidance sessions, a club program, and homeroom sports tournaments are held. After school activities include an intramural program for both boys and girls, and a tutorial program run by teachers for which a late bus is provided. The Student Government is well integrated at Webb, and during 1972-73, both

the President and Vice President were black girls.

Both white and black students at Webb indicated in interviews that they felt that white and black students got along very well together at the school, and spoke of some interracial friendships. Fighting occurs occasionally between individual students, but they stated these incidents don't result in inter-group reactions. White students did speak of black student achievement, howeve, and expressed their feelings that "black students don't try to learn."

Woodlands High School

Woodlands High School was built in the center of the 160 acre Warburg estate which had been donated to the district and houses the eigth through twelfth grades. The campus consists of a large three story classroom building, a three tiered structure housing the auditorium, cafeteria, library, a handful of class-rooms, and a suite for administration and guidance, several portable classrooms, and a separate gymnasium and athletic field complex.

Of the ninety-six classroom teachers at Woodlands, eleven are departmen chairmen and teach an average of two classes per day. There are also seven guidance counselors, two of whom are black, one black and one white Dean of Students, a black Vice Principal, and a white Principal.

During 1972-73, 1,318 students attended Woodlands High School, thirty-one percent of whom were black. Table 8 shows the racial breakdown for each grade.

TABLE 8

Racial Composition by Grade

Woodlands High School

1972-73

Grade	No. of Black	No. of White	Total	% of Blacks
8	107	180	287	37
9	98	209	302	32
10	78	166	244	32
11	63	187	250	25
12	68	157	225	30
Totals	414	899	1318	31

Woodlands offers students a wide variety of courses. Included in the list of one hundred forty-one course titles are ten-week electives, semester electives, year-long electives, traditional year-long courses, accelerated courses in Mathematics, Science, and Foreign Languages, and advanced placement in the senior year in Mathematics, Biology, French, and Spanish.

Eighth grade classes are heterogeneously grouped except for Math, Science, and Foreign Languages. Placement in Math and Science is determined by achievement and teacher recommendations. Eighth grade students have a choice of either French or Spanish, with A and B levels in both. All eighth graders take an Art and a Music class, girls take Homemaking and boys take Industrial Arts. For Physical Education, eighth and ninth graders are mixed together. A Junior High Chorus and Band are available by choice.

Math and Science classes are characterized by ability selection

for grades 9 through 12. Students select their courses with advice from their Guidance Counselors who carefully consider teacher recommendations. Parents may overrule a student's placement, however, if they want the student in another course. Ninth grade English classes are heterogeneously grouped. An elective program operates for grades ten through twelve wherein students may choose a year-long elective, semester electives, ten week electives, or the traditional English class with one teacher for the full year. Regents preparation is also available in the eleventh grade.

The Social Studies Department at Woodlands is strongly commited to heterogeneous grouping. The following statement by the Department Chairman is reflective of this view:

> It's the only way to teach Social Studies. Heterogeneous grouping is essential. I can't conceive of another approach. In the past, the alternative to heterogeneity was compensatory education. We went in this direction in the past, but the stigma and the psychological effects destroyed what we were trying to do. In a heterogeneous group, the slower student can raise a question and all kids react. So the underachiever gains equality in this situation. This is the main justification for this program. In compensatory education we never get any place. We spent fortunes in this district, and it just didn't work.

Elenenth grade Social Studies classes, however, are grouped into Regents and Non-Regents sections for the benefit of students who wish to prepare for the New York State Regent Examinations. Staff members are unhappy with this practice of one non-heterogeneous year in the Social Studies sequence, but feel the Board of Education will resist eliminating this policy even if a separate course of study is offered for students who desire the

Regents preparation. The comments of a Social Studies teacher reveal problems which have racial implications when heterogeneous grouping is interrupted for a particular grade.

> I wish we had heterogeneous grouping in the eleventh grade. It's obvious that two things happen when one grade is in the middle of heterogeneous grouping. Those kids in the Non-Regents classes are highly demoralized. They tend to be a group of nonachievers which breaks down into two categories: there are those who have high skills and above average IQ's, but are alienated from society, and in extreme cases, may be on drugs; for them this class is a joy ride; and there are those who have difficulty with basic skills.
>
> In the Regents courses, we're faced with the opposite. Fifteen percent in the Regents classes don't have the skills and study habits of Regents level and can't compete. A large percentage of these are black. They are there for socio-psychological reasons. This is the one year you have to admit inequalities. We don't make the decision. Any student can take Regents if he wishes. So we have two groups, Regents and Non-Regents, each of which has two incompatible groupings. We teach Regents for the Regents level and Non-Regents for the Non-Regents level. If we had heterogeneous grouping, we could plan and teach for a very different situation. The homogeneity is a myth and it hurts everybody.

In the twelfth grade, students may elect to take Advanced African History, or are otherwise involved in independent study projects.

A and B sections of French and Spanish are available through level IV. Students may also elect to take Italian or Swahili. Taught by an African, Swahili was instituted as a result of black student demands, but is diminishing in popularity with only four students enrolled during 1972-73. Art, Music, Business, Homemaking, and Industrial Arts courses are elective after the eighth grade. Physical Education is required, but electives are available in the eleventh and twelfth grades, and boys and girls

are grouped together in grades ten through twelve.

Classroom Desegregation

Desegregation in a school district's high school classrooms is a factor which reveals academic status positions between black and white students in terms of the levels of classes to which they are assigned. Also revealed is the extent to which possibilities for classroom interaction between blacks and whites exist as reflected in the racial balance of such classrooms.

Table 9 shows that although black and white students are not evenly distributed among the eighth and ninth grade English classes, there are only two instances where black students make up less than twenty percent of the class.* The racial composition of the electives also indicates no totally segregated classes, but racial balance is obviously affected by the interests of students as they choose courses.

In terms of numbers, Table 10 indicates ample possibilities for black-white student interaction in Woodlands Social Studies classes for grades eight through ten.* However, racial balance breaks down in the eleventh grade classes which are classified as Regents and Non-Regents. Out of the total 178 students taking Regents American History, thirty-six or twenty percent are black. However, fifty-six or sixty-three percent of the eighty-nine students in Non-Regents Social Studies are black, and they comprise over fifty percent of the class in all of these sections.

Tables 11 and 12 reveal that ability grouping for Science and

* For Tables 9-12, see pages

Math at Woodlands High School has resulted in over-representation in Regents or advanced level classes.* No black students are found in Calculus or in one of the Regents Physics classes.

* For Tables 11 and 12, see pages

TABLE 9

Woodlands High School
English Classes
Spring, 1973

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
English 8	18	7	25	28
	17	7	24	29
	15	8	23	35
	14	8	22	36
	16	10	26	38
	15	9	24	38
	13	8	21	38
	13	9	22	41
	12	10	22	45
	13	11	24	46
	11	10	21	48
	14	13	27	48
English 9	20	4	24	17
	19	4	23	17
	15	5	20	25
	17	7	24	29
	14	6	20	30
	17	8	25	32
	14	8	22	36
	13	8	21	38
	11	7	18	39
	14	9	23	39
	11	8	19	42
	12	10	22	45

TABLE 9 (continued)

Woodlands High School
English Classes
Spring, 1973

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Regular English-10*	17	32	49	65
Regular English-11*	20	30	50	60
Regents Preparation-11*	104	53	157	33
Regular English-12*	30	43	73	59
Great Books Seminar	22	2	24	8
Mass Communications	13	3	16	19
3 Plays by Shakespeare	10	3	13	23
Film I	22	7	29	24
Adolescents in Lit.	28	15	43	35
Film History	10	8	18	44
Black Literature	7	8	15	53
Journalism	3	18	21	86

* Figures represent course totals, not individual class sections

TABLE 10

Woodlands High School
Social Studies Classes
Spring, 1973

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
American History (8)	14	5	19	26
	11	4	15	27
	13	5	18	28
	17	7	24	29
	15	6	21	29
	14	8	22	36
	12	7	19	37
	13	8	21	38
	11	8	19	42
	12	9	21	43
	12	9	21	43
	12	11	23	48
Afro-Asian Cultures (9)	18	4	22	18
	16	5	21	24
	15	5	20	25
	15	7	22	32
	15	7	22	32
	15	7	22	32
	14	7	21	33
	13	7	20	35
	14	9	23	39
	15	10	25	40
	12	8	20	40
	12	9	21	43
	11	11	22	50

TABLE 10 (continued)

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
European Culture (10)*	29	15	44	34
	24	13	37	35
	27	16	43	37
	27	16	43	37
	29	17	46	37
	11	9	20	45
	6	9	15	60
Am. Studies (II)-Regents	18	1	19	5
	22	2	24	8
	18	2	20	10
	14	2	16	12
	19	3	22	14
	15	4	19	21
	14	5	19	26
	11	8	19	42
	11	9	20	45
Am. Studies (II)-Non-Regents	11	12	23	52
	7	14	21	67
	8	16	24	67
	7	14	21	67

* Figures for first five sections reflect team-taught situations where two sections have been combined

TABLE 11

Woodlands High School
Mathematics Classes*
Spring, 1973

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Non-Regents 9-12				
Business Math A	9	8	17	47
Consumer Math	6	35	41	85
Intermediate Algebra	31	27	58	47
Introduction to Algebra	60	38	98	39
Introduction to Business	5	3	8	38
Plane Geometry	51	37	88	42
Regents or High Level 9-12				
Elementary Algebra	166	46	212	22
Regents Geometry	93	33	126	26
Trigonometry	87	12	99	12
Pre-Calculus	35	6	41	6
Trig/Adv. Algebra	7	3	10	3
Calculus	10	0	10	0

* Figures represent course totals, not individual class sections

TABLE 12

Woodlands High School
Science Classes
Spring, 1973

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
General Science-8	19	0	19	0
	20	2	22	9
	9	2	11	18
	18	6	24	25
	15	6	21	29
	15	8	23	35
	16	11	27	41
	14	11	25	44
	12	10	22	45
	9	8	17	47
	8	11	19	58
	7	11	18	61
	7	14	21	67
General Science-9	19	4	23	17
	12	9	21	25
	18	6	24	25
	18	8	26	31
	15	7	22	32
	14	7	21	33
	13	10	23	43
	13	11	24	46
	13	11	24	46
	9	13	22	59

TABLE 12 (continued)

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Biology-Regents	18	6	24	25
	15	5	20	25
	17	7	24	29
	17	7	24	29
	13	7	20	35
	12	8	20	40
Biology Non-Regents	11	10	21	48
	5	13	18	72
	4	16	20	80
Adv. Placement Biology	16	2	18	11
Chemistry-Regents	22	2	24	8
	19	2	21	9
	20	5	25	20
	17	5	22	23
	20	6	26	23
	15	6	21	29
Chemistry Non-Regents	9	9	18	50
	8	12	20	60
	9	15	24	63
Advanced Chemistry	5	3	8	38
	9	0	9	0
Physics-Regents	13	2	15	13
Physics Non-Regents	5	4	9	44
	1	10	11	91

TABLE 12 (continued)

Course	No. of Whites	No. of Blacks	Total	% of Blacks
Earth Science	17	1	18	5
	13	1	14	7
Ecology	11	2	13	15

Music and Sports at Woodlands

Woodlands Junior High School Choir attracts both black and white students, with a racial balance that is close to sixty percent white. However, sixty-three of the sixty-eight members of the Senior Choir are black. The Director of the Senior Choir is a black woman, and the Choir has toured Scandinavia and parts of the South in past years. On the southern tour, the Choir performed a production reflecting the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at Dr. King's Church and also at Bennett College in North Carolina. The production was written and arranged by the Choir Director who stated that her purpose for the black students is "to give them a look at other life styles..., and an acquaintance with their roots." In talking about the tour, she added: "When the group visited Bennett and Hampton College, the President of Bennett College talked to them. He told them about the history of the College. The trip gave them some insight about how our people live and how well they live. They had beautiful homes. It made them feel they do have roots. One boy thought that all black people did was sit on their porches, swinging their feet, eating watermelons and singing hymns."

Like the choirs, the Junior High School Band rehearses during the school day, and students may elect them as part of their program. In both of these organizations, approximately one-third of the students are black.

Team sports offer few opportunities for interracial contact at Woodlands, as black and white students dominate different sport activities. Football and basketball tend to be considered black

sports, while soccer, tennis, baseball, and wrestling are identified with the whites. All the Varsity Cheerleaders are black, and the Junior Varsity squad is predominantly black.

RACE RELATED STUDIES AT WOODLANDS

The Social Studies and English Departments at Woodlands have long been commited to providing curricular offerings which would sensitize students to the black experience or to black-white relations. The Social Studies Department Chairman identified three areas for consideration in dealing with the black experience in the curriculum: the need for integrating topics into the Social Studies curriculum, the need for creating separate Black Studies courses, and the need for black staffing. His commentary provides a useful orientation to the manner in which the Social Studies course offerings were structured.

> This school is probably one of the first in the United States to dedicate its philosophy to integrated education. I'm not saying we've achieved it, but we have dealt with it for fifteen years. This brings up two problems that have to be reflected in the curriculum: integration against a necessary black identity. Integration has become a problem for the black students. Our problem is how to meet the needs of integration as well as a Black Studies course.
>
> We deal with integration in the following way. Take a topic such as the American Revolution. In a classic kind of course, the causes and Battles are covered. Our philosophy is, in every unit being taught, the role of the blacks in the country at that time is jumbled into the unit. In the American Revolution, it's highlighting the fact that five thousand black soldiers fought. We talk about the New England black, not just the southern slave. There is no longer a unit on Black History per se. We integrate the blacks into our topics. We talk about the enormous success of the black cowboy. In the origins of the Industrial Revolution, there is a concentration on the alliance of blacks and whites in the political and union movement.
>
> That's how we try to deal with the integration part of it. The second problem is how to deal with the needs of black kids who want separate Black Studies. The answer

is to set up separate courses in Black Studies. In essence, we concentrate on African History. This was the result of a task force deciding this. We did this years before the Regents said Afro-Asian History should be covered in the tenth grade. The black who is ideologically oriented talks interms of the Third World rather than Black Studies.

The third way to handle the problem is in staffing. One of the obvious needs is for black staffing. We have a high percentage in this school, at least twenty to thirty teachers out of a hundred. Unfortunately, not in Social Studies, which is a tragedy. We hired two black teachers, but they are now in Guidance. We've hired Africans with a good academic background, but they don't relate to American kids. The staffing problem is enormous.

The ninth grade Afro-Asian course begins with a general anthropological study dealing with what culture is, the influence of culture, how culture is transmitted, the question of superior or inferior races, and what civilization is. Case studies of the following areas of the world are used. North Africa and the Middle East, Africa South of the Sahara, India, China and Japan. One of the ninth grade teachers described his approach with the area of Africa South of the Saharas.

In dealing with this area, we stress a cultural rather than a geographical approach. When you deal with just geography, you talk about an inhospitable climate, certain animals and vegetation. It comes off as a terrible place to be. It was taught this way for years. We don't neglect it, but stress the great African civilizations of the Middle Ages, Ghana, Mali, and Songhay. These civilizations were the equal of Europe at the time in many cultural advancements. They were very wealthy, and had advanced political, social, and economic institutions. These areas have always been neglected. It wasn't even in the curriculum until five years ago. We're now making headway because through literature and the museums, the public has become more aware. The intent in the course is to show that Africans had a great culture, and a beautiful history; that people of African descent can look to Africa with pride and be able to identify with what Africa is and was. When we show the breakdown of the great civilizations, kids also ask why Africa is in a situation like today. We answer this by using concepts that can be applied to the whole world. We point out that if certain things hadn't happened to Africa like the

> slave trade or invasions from Morocco, Africa today would probably be a very technically advanced area. Obviously, our objective is to give kids a feeling that Africa was a great place. They don't have to be ashamed of Africa. We're getting away from the Tarzan image.

This teacher felt that student reaction to this approach is generally favorable. He said, "When we first used this material, I found black kids turned off. I don't think it was because I was a white teacher. They were so accustomed to being put down that they didn't believe what I was saying. They acted as if I were making it up. We don't get that anymore."

The response of an eleventh grade Social Studies teacher of American History indicated that many of the topics that came up in his class dealing with the black experience or black-white relations were unplanned, and arose out of the fact that black and white students were together in a class. He stated:

> The teacher has to be adaptable and willing to include these things in an integrated situation. You don't squelch it. You might broaden it so the perspective is closer to what you are teaching. In a black and white school, the sensitivity of the teacher to this kind of thing is very important. It has to be included in the lesson, if not in the plan.

He added that one of the many things emphasized in the course was the cultural implications of black people's presence in this country both before and after slavery. He went on to say:

> We weave the black experience into the whole history of the country. We don't separate it. The Civil War may be a major unit, but more important is this constant theme. We are interested in the subtleties in dealing with the black experience. Otherwise, it becomes tokenism. This is our general approach. There are millions of instances. We do all of the things found in Black Studies courses. Our library is filled with materials. We have the Arno series. We have used government funds to buy a large collection of books on all levels, and we have many duplicate

copies in the regular library. But I want to emphasize that if we only deal with the accomplishments of the blacks, it breeds resentment, and both sides get uncomfortable. At every point in the course, we also emphasize the achievement of other groups.

Taught by an African, the Advanced African History course at Woodlands is intended to give students an overview from the earliest times to the present. The first half of the course deals with selected ancient African empires with a focus on traditional government, customs, value systems, education and religion. In an interview, the teacher of this course indicated he started with tribal history and the physical and geographical features of Africa, which cause the different tribes to live as they do. He wanted the students to be able "to think African"- to imagine how it was before the Europeans went to Africa. He stated that Africa today cannot be understood without a look at the past, but added that too many of the students wanted to stay in the past because they found it so interesting. The required texts for the courses are: A History of Postwar Africa by John Hatch, Facing Mount Kenya by Joma Kenyatta, The Lonely African BY Colin Turnball, and Africa Yesterday and Today, edited by Clark D. Moore and Ann Dunbar. He described his dissatisfaction with the last of these books in terms of its being "slanted and stereotyped." The teacher felt that although the students did not have the background to actually do advanced work in African History, they did get involved in the course. He stated:

> I tell them many stories about African tribal life, and they would rather listen to me than do readings. However, I do assign books to be read, and they are expected to answer questions. I use two different approaches for evaluating them. They are given a test on the assigned readings. But I also want them to be able to come out of

class and talk about Africa. I stress participation in class rather than answering questions on a test. The last exam I gave them was open-ended to try to find out what they know if they can write. I asked them to choose a topic, and outline a lecture they would give to the League of Women Voters. They were at liberty to choose what they would do well on.

The English program at Woodlands reflects courses, units and materials which expose the student body to contributions by black authors and to the nature of the black experience. Furthermore, teachers have clear objectives when they speak about race-related course offerings, and are articulate about the importance of providing students with opportunities to confront such topics.

Two ninth grade teachers indicated that an entire unit is built around Black Boy by Richard Wright. One of them commented:

> This is an exceptional piece of literature, and in this unit, every assignment is built around it; what it was like for the first twelve years of his life. I have them discuss the important questions raised by the book. We've been trying to get at the idea of the inner resources a person can have- that he lived out of pure guts. He was a gifted American writer who dies young. So the main theme is a human being struggling for pure survival. We talk about life and identity. They also select outside books around this theme, and both black and white lives are covered, the lives of people who struggle and because of incredible qualities survived. Many of the books they choose are racially or ethnically oriented. The written topics also surround this idea. I use poetry to bring out some of the themes in Black Boy, and both black and white poets are used. We pack the unit with an incredible amount of things. We have a tremendous librarian. If I want three or four copies of paperbacks, she'll get them for me.

In an eleventh grade elective entitled "American Short Stories," the teacher stated that Modern Black Stories, edited by Martin Mirer is used. She said the book contained short stories, or selections, or chapters of novels by black authors which express the black experience. Students in this class also get a reading list of the contributions of black American authors. All types of literature are on the list, and the students use it as a reference.

The same teacher indicated that in the regular eleventh grade English class, a collection of black poetry called Kaleidoscope, edited by Robert Hayden is used. The students also read Ralph Ellison's The Invisible Man, Lorraine Hansberry's A Raisin in the Sun, and James Baldwin's Boos for Mr. Charley. The teacher felt that her students reacted very favorably to black literature or to topics related to theblack experience: "For the black students it's a question of reliving some experiences. For the whites, it's something new, and with the black kids in the room, they have the benefit of their reaction."

The teacher of a popular twelfth grade elective called "Man and Society" felt that the course was very heavily related to the black experience, "perhaps to the occasional objection of the white students." She said the course stressed the relationship of blacks and whites, and Eldridge Cleaver's writings, Richard Wright's Native Son, Herbert Kohl's 36 Children, and Poems of Protest Old and New, edited by Kenseth were used in the course. Some of the topics covered in the course are alienation, prejudice and discrimination, war and violence, drugs and dissent, the generation gap, and the feminine mystique. There is open discussion in terms of the readings, and filstrips and motion-pictures are also used. The teacher stated:

> I want to give them an overview of world society. I want to show them that racism is not confined to their own country. There are many racial implications with the Mohammedans and in Islam. There has been racism based on various interpretations of the Bible. I don't see how you can understand society without understanding racism. My objective is to be able to discuss an emotion-packed issue. My classes are all heterogeneous. The course is chosen freely by kids, and I think it's an experience for the kids to discuss topics with such a mixture.

We also cover the psychological effect of racism on the human being, and I stress that unless individuals become psychologically whole, the society can't be. I show how many of the problems we have here are individual problems which become society's problems. War is also discussed in terms of racial implications. In considering the torture of Vietnamese, I raise the question, 'would we do the same thing to Europeans?'

The Woodlamds Library contains about twenty thousand volumes, and in 1969 was the recipient of a federal grand for the establishment of an Afro-American Cultural Resources Center which has to be housed in a seminar room of the Library. Since that time, it has been moved to a central section of the main library which is called a Black Studies section. The librarian indicated that the move had taken place because many books were being taken, and the room had come to be identified as a "black room" which white students wouldn't use.

The resource center was established to provide a place for high school students to do their research on Black History, and was the first center of its type in a public school in the area. The librarian showed the writer a copy of the following objectives which were identified for the center at the time of its establishment.

1. To offer a multi-media collection of written materials, microfilm, records, tapes, movies, and filmstrips that are an authentic reservoir of Afro-American history and culture to be used by both black and white students.

2. To better educate both races as to the history and cultural background of the Negro.

3. To improve the interpersonal and group relationships between black and white students.

4. To provide a resource and materials center that can be used by professionals to better their knowledge of Afro-American history and culture.

The Black Studies collection contains a total of about five hundred volumes. This includes the entire Arno Series, The Negro Heritage Library, and books falling into numerous fiction and non-fiction categories. In addition, the collection includes many films, filstrips, and records. Out of the seventy-five periodicals in the library, the following relate to the black experience: Ebony, Jet, Negro Digest, Negro History Bulletin, Journal of Negro History, Tan, Africa Report, and Black Americans in Government. The library also has the following periodicals on microfilm:

The Crisis - November, 1910-1963
Ebony - November, 1945-October, 1968
Journal of Negro History - January, 1916-October, 1968
The Messenger - November, 1917-June, 1928
Negro History Bulletin - October, 1953-December, 1967
Opportunity Journal of Negro Life, New York - 1923-1949
Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture- 1940-1968
Review of Politics - January-October, 1961
Voice of the Negro - 1904-1907
The Colored American - 1840-1841
Freedom's Journal - 1827-1870
The New York Age - 1905-1960
The Negro Worker - 1931-1937
The Negro World - 1926-1933
The Liberator - 1835-1932

The librarian was proud of the Black Studies collection, and stated that it was widely used by both teachers and students, and that the library was constantly adding to it. In addition to the Black Studies collection, she stated that there were many volumes in the regular library collection by black authors or relating to the black experience.

BLACK-WHITE RELATIONSHIPS AT WOODLANDS

Because of the campus-like spaciousness of Woodlands, students tend to linger in various places, and black and white students choose separate places for their between-class socializing. A tour of the campus reveals student groupings which give an overall impression of social segregation. Lunchroom groupings and the

informal mixing that takes place in the student lounge substantiate this impression. The responses of teachers to questions regarding black-white student interaction indicate that while open hostility is not pervasive, teachers do not perceive much interaction between black and white students. The following comments are illustrative of their responses:

> In a real sense we haven't brought together the blacks and whites. At the busses they separate. Anyone who says that bringing blacks and whites together is automatically better is crazy. It can reinforce negative feelings. The blacks don't feel that anything has been accomplished. They are very negative, but it's not true. Relative to what is happening in most schools, we're doing better, but we're failing. (Male, white)

> At the moment in this particular school, on the surface there seems to be a comfortable atmosphere. But they've still got a long way to go to accept each other as human beings. There's a lot of freedom in this school to discuss these nitty gritty issues and this helps. (Female, white)

> I look at them when they first come in, and they mix back and forth. But as they get older, they don't. As they have more social outlooks, they have less and less to talk about. It's unusual when you see a black and white girl who are friendly. In games they'll play together, and they may be friendly towards each other, but they don't form close friendships. They are more likely to be close around the eigth grade. Around the ninth, they start breaking up. (Female, black)

> I think there is a positive relationship between most of the black and white students. Certain of the conditions that people might see lead them to escalate what is happening here. For example, if you walk into the cafeteria you'll see that the blacks and whites don't sit together. If you go to football or basketball games, you'll see groups of white students and groups of black students. People see this and say that the students don't get along. I don't buy this. I believe that the students have a tendency to talk about things that another group might not understand. The cafeteria is the gossip center of the world, so therefore, the kids are going to sit with those who have the same interests. (Male, black)

> The kids I have seen get along very well. In the cafeteria, it breaks down into black and black and white

and white. But the kids talk about things in their neighborhood. There are no real problems between the two groups. (Female, white)

They accept each other, but when it comes to activities, they'll group themselves, such as in the cafeteria or at games. When they play together on teams or in the Band, they get along fine. It is seldom that there are any confrontations with racial overtones. They don't seek each other out, but this is true in the community as well. The school reflects the community, and the children come here with certain attitudes. We can't force them to change. We can only hope to modify these feelings and make them more aware. (Female, black)

The kids get along. The whites stay away from fights. They won't cause waves, but the black students can get very pushy. Maybe they don't know any better. I've seen black kids push whites in the cafeteria lines or cut in, and the whites don't do anything about it. As far as the boys are concerned, they get along because the whites avoid encounters. (Male, white)

Few white students go to the dances. Maybe white students have other outlets. The black students don't, so they turn out for school events. The white kids probably have other places to go. (Female, black)

Although this is a heterogeneous school, we still have the same acute kind of housing problems. There are some integrated areas, but we still have busses bringing all whites and all blacks. The housing patterns don't offer opportunities for students to come to school together. (Male, black)

In sports we see some friendships if guys are on a team together. But for the most part in the school, the two groups stick together with their own.. (Male, white)

I was startled when I first came here. I was asked to chaperone a couple of dances. The first one was ninety-five percent black and the second was all black. It became so noticeable that I thought all dances and parties should be discontinued. I said if we couldn't have a dance that reflected our student body, we shouldn't have them. But I've changed my mind. This is a reflection of the community and the social issues of the times. White families, especially with teenage children, don't subscribe as a group to social intermingling. (Female, black)

The dances are pretty much segregated. If you go to Pep rallies or things in the auditorium, the kids will tend to sit in their own section. (Male, white)

More revealing, however, are the views expressed by the students themselves. These indicate the complexity of social behavior in an interracial school setting. Black students speak of two separate groups of white students, the "plain whites" and the "greasers." They identify the "greasers" as the "troublemakers who hang around together and look like the 50's." Black students feel that the "greasers" hate blacks. While black students spoke of some friendships with whites in school, they stated that living indifferent locations was a barrier to after school friendships - "we just don't get together." Many of the black students cited difficulties in relating to whites. One stated:

> It depends on how you're brought up. Maybe if a white person lives near you, you can relate better with him than just any white person. Because they don't relate to the same movies or the same music. They don't go to the same parties.

Two black students spoke of a student trip to France the year before with 5 blacks and ten white students.

> At first all the blacks stayed together, but after our first meetings to make plans, we split up and everyone got together in the rooms. We all had a good time. We lived together and we traveled together, and we really became close on the trip. But we hit the States, and boom, that was it. We didn'y see any of the whites anymore.

White students also relate the difficulties of forming close relationships with blacks at Woodlands. The following commentaries by both black and white students lends credence to the view that residential segregation in the community breeds attitudes and behaviors which act as strong elements of separation between black and white students.

Greenburgh is divided into different parts, some black and some white. Sometimes we do different things, you know. Lots of times the whites and blacks like different music, go different places, things like that. Even the way black students and white students communicate. There isn't that much to communicate about that you have in common other than being in school. The environment is altogether different (black, female).

There's a difference between us, but it's a lot where people live. Like there's things happening down at Fairview, and things happening where I live, and they're different. It's two different places. There's lots of things I know about that blacks might not know about. You live in different places, and where you live is what makes the difference (white female).

If you look hard enough when you walk down the halls, there's a lot of black and white mixing; you just gotta look a little harder. But that's something that seems to be true in school. Like out of school, blacks and whites don't do too much mixing (black, female).

It's the way society builds it up. Like, I know if I go out with Gary whom I'm very close with, and I was to go over to his house, I know I wouldn't feel comfortable there. I wouldn't. I'm white, and I'd be out of place. And if I go to a party that's all blacks, I wouldn't feel right (white, female).

I thought I was all liberal and not prejudiced and all this. But there's this thing of keeping up with people, keeping up with a race, my black race, and my background. And that was the way it was for a long time. Like the guys would say 'let's get this white boy' and I was all down for it. But I didn't really want to do this inside. But I wanted to keep up with the guys I was hanging around with. And people are brought up into that. And then they grow up and they see- well, maybe I could like this white person- and it's confusing (black, male).

I know that there are a lot of black people and a lot of white people deep inside who are afraid to mix. A lot of it comes down to being afraid. They're afraid- if I hang around with this black person, my friends won't accept me. So they keep this militant attitude. And that's the way it is, man. It's not a thing that's really that big if you get a person and sit down and really talk to him. It's not really that big. Because I know there's a lot who don't really understand white people. Because they were told all kinds of things about white people (black, male).

Given the History of this country, there are many moral, philosophical, and sociological issues which are raised when black and white students are brought together or kept apart. Woodlands cannot disengage itself from the barriers that separate whites and blacks. Sanctioned by society, these barriers propagate the American racial dilemma and are nourished in the soils of fear, social mores, aggression, power, economic exploitation, sexual conflict and numerous other social conditions. They are reflected in the separatist attitudes and behaviors of Woodlands' students. Nevertheless, one must acknowledge the elements of awareness, sensitivity and commitment that has resulted in this school's efforts to integrate its curriculum, library and staff, as well as the student population; provide content that comprehensively and intelligently deals with the black experience in America; and facilitate classroom encounters which would erase stereotypes and encourage mutual understanding.

FOR NOW - FOREVER MORE

An assessment of a school program within a conceptual framework that emanates from two basic questions - (1) the extent to which all students are indeed acquiring the knowledge, skills, and understandings which will enable them to function effectively in society, and (2) the extent to which interactions by all participants in the educative process are characterized by equal status and mutual respect - really brings into question a very complex network of human and factual encounters. Any school program is really a set of intentions about the encounters that will take place among persons and with things in certain arrangements of time and space. As such, persons and things are

all bearers of information, processes, techniques, and values.

This report has examined the nature of encounters in Greenburgh Central N. Seven. While there is much evidence of comprehensive efforts to offer and develop programs aimed at equalizing educational opportunity, the most significant concern operating at all levels of the school district is the fact that many black children are not acquiring the necessary knowledge, skills, and understandings for effective functioning in society. This concern has manifested itself in accusations by black teachers and parents, that white teachers have low expectations for black children, in defensive reactions by white teachers, in views of white parents that the overall standards of education are being lowered, and in demands for new measures of accountability from many elements of the community. The academic achievement of both black and white students has become the major focus of Greenburgh's present struggles to meet the needs of its diverse student population.

There is much evidence that the district has sought ways to encourage mutual understanding and positive interaction among majority and minority staff members. Feelings exist among black teachers, students and parents, however, that blacks have not had equal access to key administrative positions in the district. These feelings have erupted in two incidents over the past two years. One incident focussed upon a possible dismissal of the black Vice Principal at the high school, which brought strong and immediate reaction from the black community. In the other incident, black high school students protested the formal appointment of the white Acting Superintendent during 1972-73 to the

position. Black students felt the black Assistant Superintendent was better qualified, but had been ignored.

There were many in Greenburgh who stated that the examination reflected in this report took place at a time of turmoil, confusion, and disillusionment. There were others, weary of Greenburgh's long struggle, who expressed a wonder if the struggle would ever cease and if the dream of quality integrated education would ever be achieved. Perhaps the lesson of Greenburgh and all school districts which face the myriad problems inherent in an ethnically diverse school population is that the struggle must never cease. The struggle itself is a symbol of the commitment needed to meet the problems of today and tomorrow, and in Greenburgh reflects the district's pledge to explore the meaning of quality integrated education "for now and forever more."